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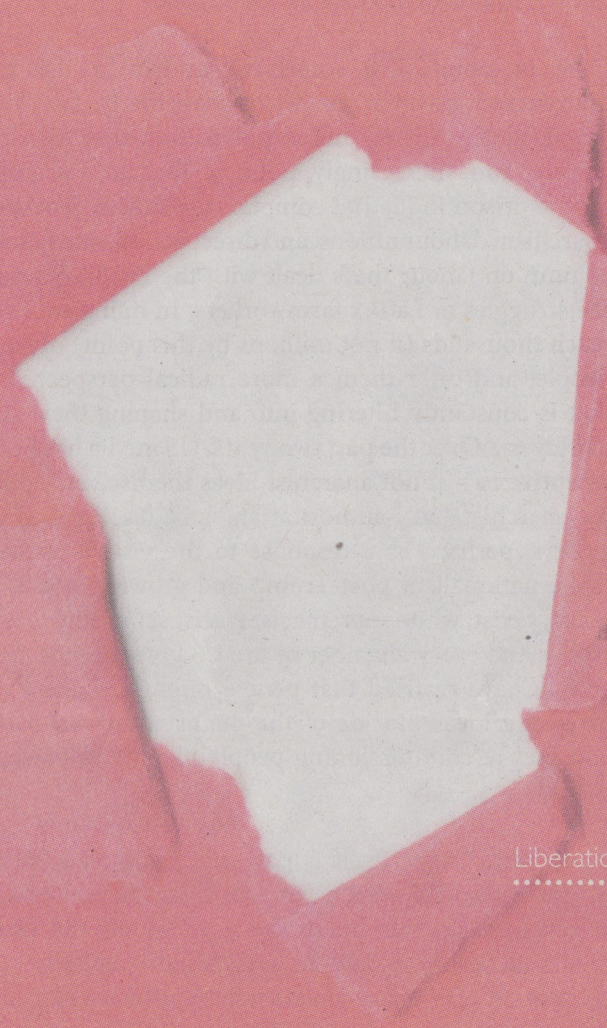


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# Tactics

## by Kim Kelly

Anarchists love propaganda. Really, so do radicals of every stripe and tendency, but I maintain that our team is the most fervent in its desire to spread the good word of anarchy and liberation by whatever means necessary. Given that – up until recently, anyway – perspectives and analyses from anarchists, anti-authoritarians, and basically anyone to the left of Jeremy Corbyn (or in the States, Bernie Sanders) have been left almost entirely unheard and unexplored in any kind of mainstream media platform, the majority of written propaganda ends up in movement media, explicitly leftist periodicals, or in DIY zines. Of course, stickers, flyers, posters, wheat-pasting, and social media campaigns are indispensable parts of any well-oiled propaganda machine, but for the sake of sticking to my own experience, let's talk specifically about the nerdiest form of the revolutionary written word: editorial propaganda.

There's certainly nothing wrong with preaching to the choir, especially one that tends to hold a wide variety of opinions about a number of crucial ideas and tactics, but in my opinion, there is something to be said for branching out, and infiltrating more high-profile venues. It's not like there isn't a precedent for it. Anarchist icons like Emma Goldman and Lucy Parsons travelled the US speaking to audiences of thousands; they weren't concerned with who showed up, only that they did show up – and that they listened. The idea of sharing revolutionary ideas with the masses was tantamount to their efforts; how could regular, working people who lived their lives outside of the cosy confines of intellectual activist groups find out that a better world was possible if they were never given the opportunity to glimpse it? Hoarding knowledge within a small, rarified circle may allow said group to gain a deeper understanding of its own principles and mission, but then, what's the use? How are you going to get enough people on board with said mission if they're coming into it blind, sans context? You can't foment revolution if nine out of ten people don't know

As Goldman said, "The most violent element in society is ignorance," and shouldn't eradicating that ignorance be one of our most treasured goals as anarchists?

Case in point: I've somehow landed in the extraordinarily unexpected position of writing regularly for Teen Vogue, a swank glossy-turned-online publication that focuses on fashion, culture, and, increasingly, politics. To date, I've published pieces on the prison industrial complex, capitalism, worker exploitation, anarchism, labour unions, and direct action, and launched a regular column on labour that's dealt with the 2018 US prison strike and the struggles of Latinx farmworkers. In doing so, I've been able to reach thousands (if not millions by this point) of teens and young people, and offer them a more radical perspective on the news that is constantly filtering into and shaping their still-developing worldview. Over the past two years, US media has become far more receptive to – if not anarchist ideas themselves – publishing work by anarchist, anti-authoritarian, anti-fascist, and anti-capitalist writers, perhaps as a response to the visible upswing in violent white nationalism post-Trump and growing liberal horror at the racist, sexist, white supremacist fascist scum squatting in the White House and every chamber of the US government. All of a sudden, editors have realised that people might actually be interested in exploring ideas outside of the mainstream two-party chokehold, and they're commissioning people like me to present them. 2018 is wild.

Now, Teen Vogue itself is part of Condé Nast, a capitalist mass media enterprise with a net worth in the millions, which poses a contradiction that lies at the heart of any discussion of radical media tactics: how does an avowed anti-capitalist justify creating content off of which a capitalist institution will profit?

Simply put, I've got bills to pay and if Teen Vogue is happy to literally play a part in funding the revolution, then I'm calling it a win. The more resources our team

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Goldman and Parsons also wrote for (and founded) anarchist and generally leftist publications, because in the 20th century, what newspaper editor in their right mind was going to give an anarchist – let alone a woman anarchist – a platform to spread their dangerous ideas? They changed the whole damn world using this two-pronged approach, and I personally think that a mixture of these two tactics is the ideal way forward for anarchist or otherwise radical writers. We owe it to ourselves, our cause, and our class to seize any opportunity we have to share our message with the masses, while also dedicating time to building our own alternative media systems.

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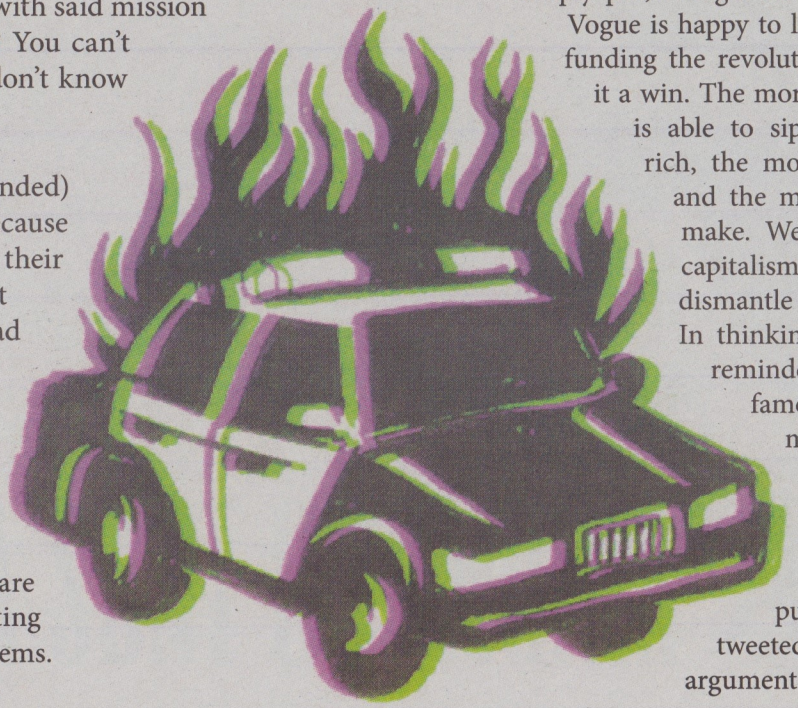
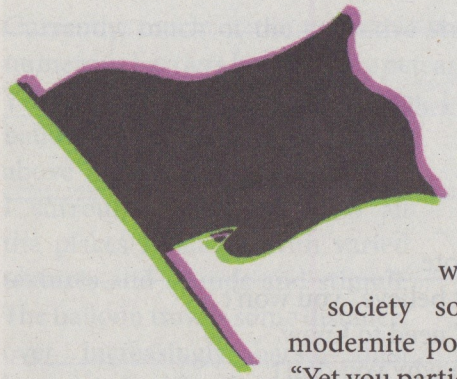
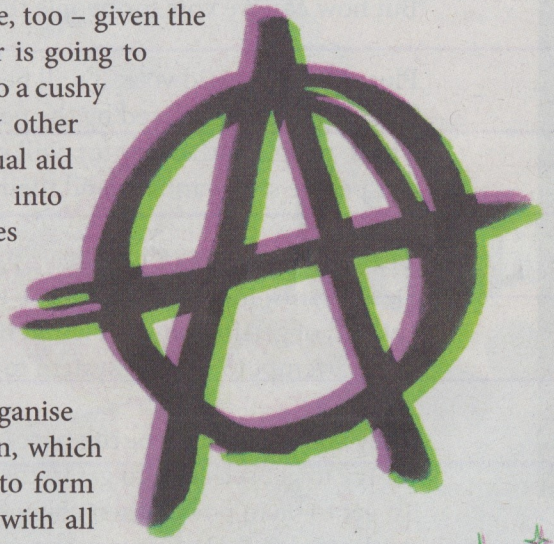


Simply put, I've got bills to pay and if Teen Vogue is happy to literally play a part in funding the revolution, then I'm calling it a win. The more resources our team is able to siphon away from the rich, the more good we can do, and the more progress we can make. We're still living under capitalism, and as we work to dismantle it, we've got to eat. In thinking about all this, I'm reminded of course of the famous meme of the medieval peasant that pops up whenever capitalism is discussed online and invariably, some jerk pulls the "you probably tweeted this on an iPhone!" argument.



(If you haven't seen it, it's a cartoon of a haggard-looking worker saying, "We should improve society somewhat," with a well-scrubbed modernite popping out of a nearby well to say, "Yet you participate in society. Curious! I am very intelligent" in response). It's a simplistic way to shut down a bad faith argument, but the point remains true: criticising the violently exploitative nature of capitalism while trying to survive under said capitalist system by participating in it is not a mutually exclusive endeavour.

All of this is to say that I think breaking into mainstream media is a useful tactic for anarchists and other radicals who are seeking to organise on a broader scale. Obviously, there are questions of access and privilege at play here, too – given the nature of media, not every anarchist writer is going to have the immediate opportunity to stroll into a cushy freelancing gig, just like any writer of any other tendency wouldn't – but this is where mutual aid and solidarity come in. Creating inroads into these kind of shiny legacy publications takes work, but once one of us is able to forge that path, they're able to bring others in behind us.



A course of action that the collective I organise with here in New York City has undertaken, which has proved to be quite effective, has been to form a press working group, drawing in people with all levels of experience in media. We pool our resources, contacts, and knowledge to help one another workshop story ideas, craft pitches, reach out to friendly editors, and place articles – it's a sort of anarchist writing workshop, with the very specific goal of insinuating ourselves into the larger mainstream

Self-thinking individuals need tools, and in this instance – in this moment – I believe that the pen truly is mightier than the sword. We must wield it wisely.

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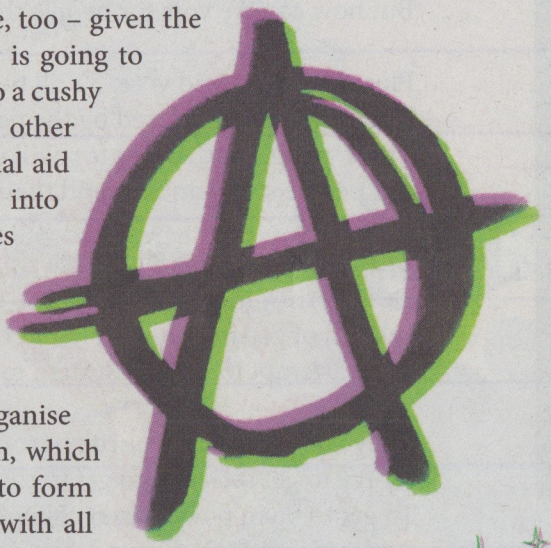

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Ultimately, I believe we're in the midst of a unique historical moment. People are hungry for change, and for hope – for something better. As anarchists, we have so much to offer, and so much work to do. If we're presented with the opportunity to do that work on a large scale, then I say we must grab that opportunity by the throat, and not let go. As Lucy Parsons said, "Anarchists know that a long period of education must precede any great fundamental change in society, hence they do not believe in vote begging, nor political campaigns, but rather in the development of self-thinking individuals."

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***Kim Kelly*** is an anarchist based in New York City and an organiser with the Metropolitan Anarchist Coordinating Council (**MACC**).

# The Rhyming Guide to Voting

***By Potent Whisper***

I see people banging on, saying that you need to vote
Telling you they're disappointed, how they "can't believe" you won't
Sending you links to videos that tell you facts you "need to know"
But you don't plan to vote, and I'm gonna tell them why you don't

Cos the truth is, every politician is the same
Money hungry liars who enjoy a life of fame
They promised this and promised that, they sold us all a dream
And then they did the opposite, got rich and went to leave

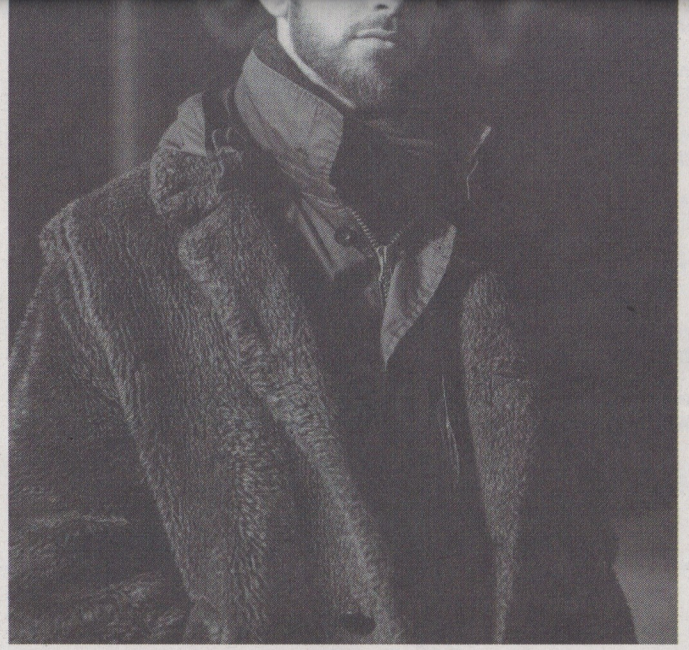
They were supposed to represent us, but is that really what they did?
Tell me the last prime minister who didn't represent the rich
It's not as if we want a saint, we never needed much
But how can we vote for people that we don't even trust?!

Plus, even if we did vote, it's all been pre-decided
The whole thing is fixed by the people who designed it
Those people at the very top will choose whoever they like
But people still wanna spend their time pretending they can try and fight it

The more I see the more it seems we need a revolution
Despite this, most people choose to "play the game"
Instead of getting on with it and being the solution
They attempt to use the system to try and make a change

They choose their favourite party and then become a member
Or try to get selected, to get to the top
To get to be in power, then change the world for better
And now, with Corbyn, we can see if that works…or not.

This is the election when "playing the game" could stop
This is the election you could prove the system's wrong
You could prove it with one piece of paper



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This is the election you could prove the system's wrong
You could prove it with one piece of paper
I reckon you could prove it, by voting. For Labour.

Hahaha
Now I know that some of you might think that I've lost it
So give me just 2 minutes, I'll explain my logic:

I always said, I wouldn't vote if they paid me
That's what I said before Corbyn said he'd pay me…
£10 per hour, when I'm at work. Minimum
So when he said that, I said well that's…flippin brilliant

If the minimum wage is raised to £10 an hour
And right now you work 40 hours a week
Then every single month, if Corbyn gets to power
You'll earn £1,300, after tax, at least

Then of course he plans to stop zero hour contracts
So your boss will have to give you work, if you say you want that
You'd be guaranteed a set amount of hours working, for certain
Cos what's the point of jobs if you can't work them?

But also, what's the point of work without a place to stay and rest?
Workers can't afford a home and landlords keep on raising rents
But housing is a human right, we shouldn't just accept that
And that's why Corbyn will introduce a rent cap

Then that leads to less homeless on the streets
If you're a student, he'll scrap all your fees
He'll fund green energy and smash our climate tests
He'll cut austerity and get us back our NHS

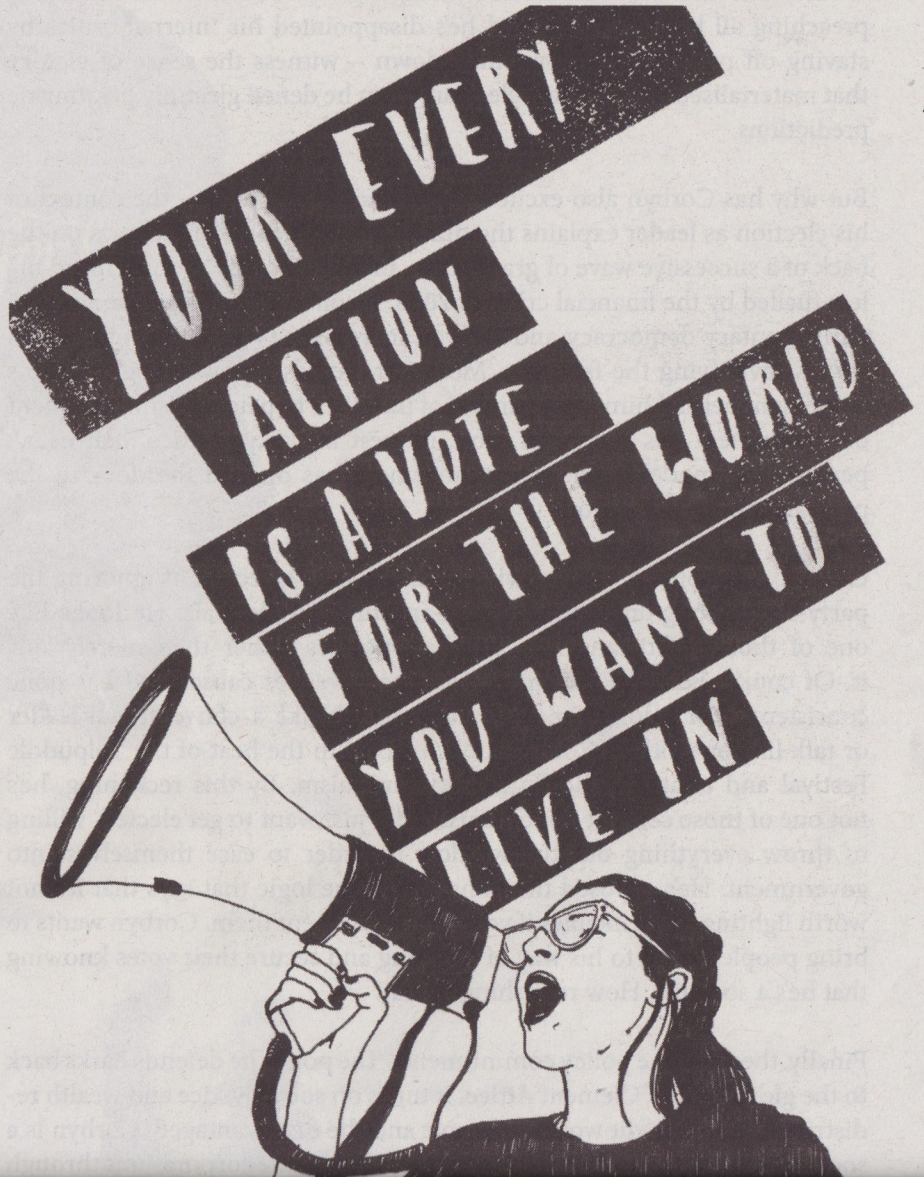
Corbyn's been like one of us, for thirty years and more
He's proved it in the Commons, on the street and in the courts
He stood beside the people; the workers and the poor
And more, he's always opposed the Right whenever they tried to go to war

Many on the left would say that he's the best we've had
That he's the best we've got now, that he's the best we'll have
He murked the game and worked his way further than ever expected
And now he's a month away from getting elected…

So if – after all of this – he still doesn't make it
Whether he loses cos the media's against him
Whether he wins and his own MP's betray him
For whatever reason, if he can't deliver changes

Then at least we'll know, that you can't beat the game
That the system can't reform, that it needs to be replaced
If we all vote for him, and still there's no solutions
Then we'd know – for sure – that we need a revolution

At that stage our future would depend on our reaction
Lay down and die or find new tactics



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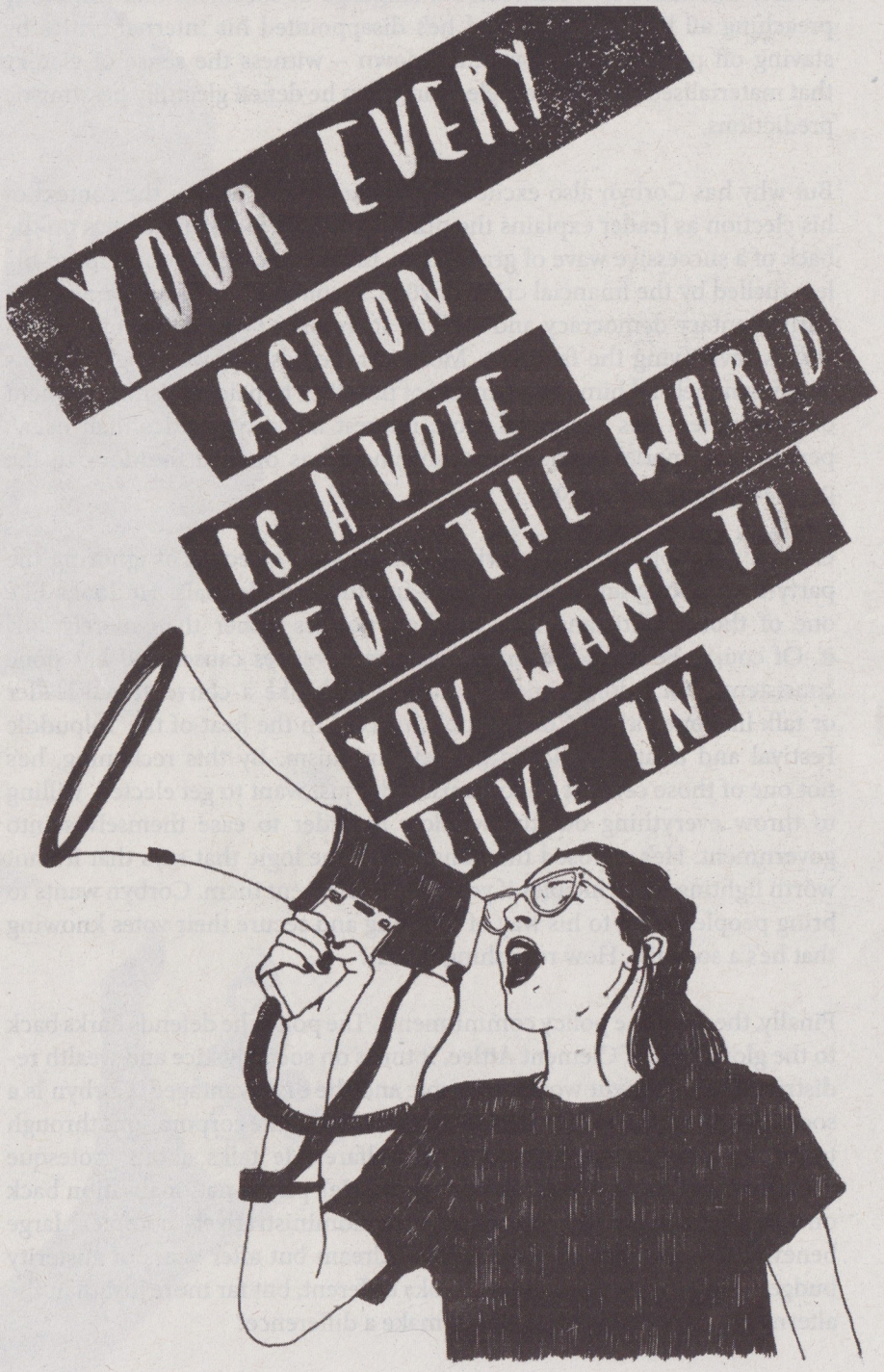
Lay down and die or find new tactics
Break down and cry or design new actions
Atomise or strategise and amalgamate factions

Maybe a loss would kill the left as we know it
Maybe a loss would be a chance to spark new approaches
But not as opposition, not within this system
Maybe we could rise for real and reinvent resistance

But whether he wins or loses, I'll still remain active



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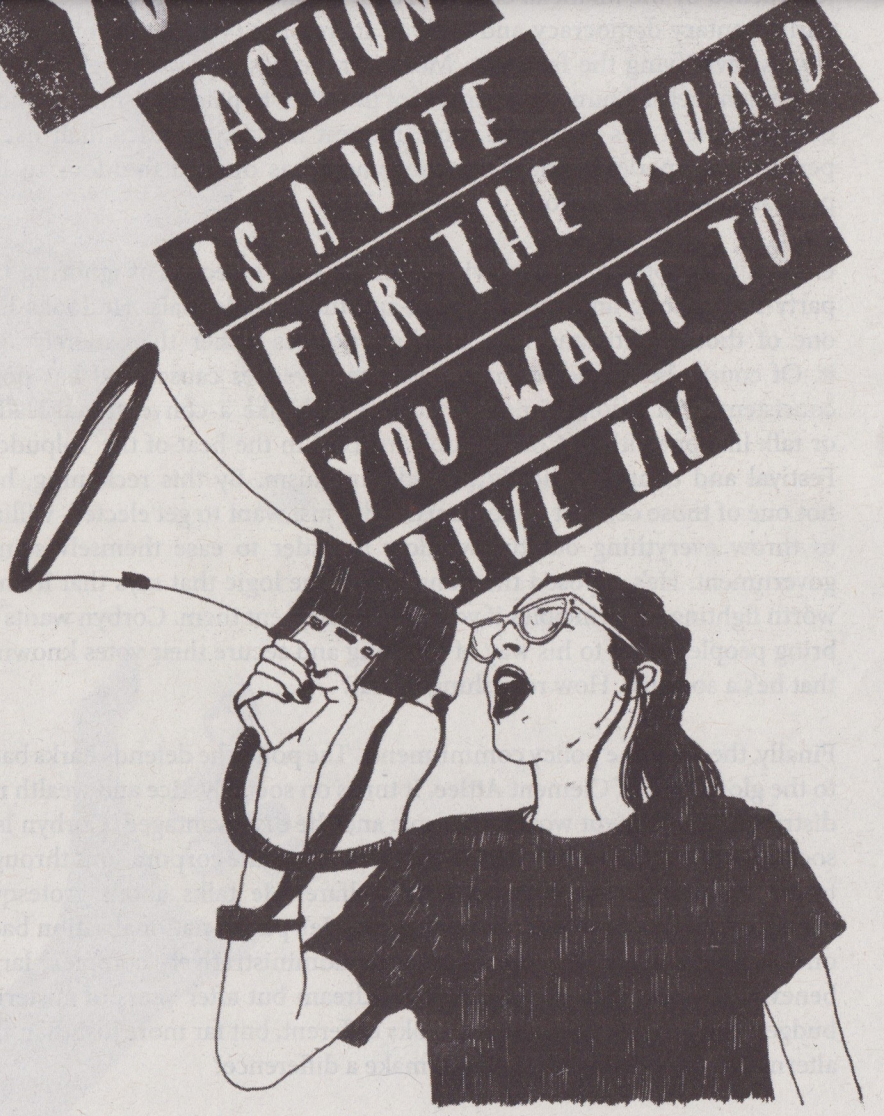
The power always has been and will be with the masses

I build my own future, I don't have a master
I've just got a vote and the chance to get an answer.

That's why I'm voting for Corbyn.

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***Potent Whisper*** is a rapper, spoken word artist and community organiser.
*The Rhyming Guide to Grenfell Britain is available on Dog Section Press.*

# Anarcho-Corbynism

## *by Ruth Kinna*

It's easy to see the appeal that Jeremy Corbyn has for anti-Blairite Labour Party activists. He's resurrected a language of socialism that third-way preaching all but expunged and he's disappointed his internal critics by staving off predicted electoral melt-down – witness the sense of victory that materialised after the last election when he defied gleefully pessimistic predictions.

But why has Corbyn also excited some anarchists? Maybe the context of his election as leader explains the draw. Corbyn's leadership comes on the back of a successive wave of grass-roots, pro-democracy actions, more-or-less fuelled by the financial crisis of 2008. It coincides with the paralysis of parliamentary democracy and with an increasing polarisation of opinion that is revivifying the far right. Moreover, he has a powerful grass-roots movement behind him. If the drama of the elite's hopeless mismanagement of government has generated more interest in party-politics than usual, perhaps the model of the party-movement has opened the door to the possibility of participation?

Corbyn also appears to have virtue on his side: a record of ignoring the party-line, strong anti-war and anti-apartheid credentials. He looks like one of those politicians who live 'for' politics rather than merely 'off' it. Of course he takes the money, but he advances causes and has done consistently for a long time. He doesn't look like a conventional leader or talk like one either: Corbyn looks relaxed in the heat of the Tolpuddle Festival and unapologetically defends unionism. By this reckoning, he's not one of those centrist opportunists who just want to get elected, willing to throw everything out the window in order to ease themselves into government. He's exposed the nonsense of the logic that says that it's not worth fighting for principles if you can't implement them. Corbyn wants to bring people round to his way of thinking and secure their votes knowing that he's a socialist. How refreshing is that?

Finally, there are the policy commitments. The policy he defends harks back to the glory days of Clement Attlee. It turns on social justice and wealth re-distribution to benefit working people and the disadvantaged. Corbyn is a social liberal who also promises to hit the rich and the corporations through

Their worry was that the electoral reform would fail to deliver fundamental social transformation. Me too says that they were right.

As CrimethInc. point out in From Democracy to Freedom, the maintenance of the state is the significant constraint on parliamentary power. Why? Max Weber – no friend of the anarchists – answered the question by arguing that the methods of modern party policies created two types of functionary. One was administrative, the other political. Unlike their administrative counterparts, political officials were always insecure. Enmeshed in the permanent struggle for power, they could be removed from their positions at any time. In modern electoral systems, it was simply not possible for politicians to play the decisive decision-making roles they cast for themselves. No surprise that UK policy analysts find more continuity in the business of government than politicians want to let on. Government doesn't stop for elections. Ministers always come into power inheriting policy. Weber's point was that the basic division of labour was integral to modern government. Administrators are charged with the business of government. Politicians are tasked with maintaining 'law and order' and, therefore, existing power relations. Chomsky finds something similar in his examination of post-war US foreign policy. Presidents come and go and all the while the military pursues a steady, largely consensual line. Chomksy's dissection of the alignment of liberal democracy with corporate power, the manufacturing of consent and the symbiotic relationship of capitalism and the state complicates and completes Weber's picture of parliamentary power constraint.

Individual virtue is not irrelevant in this context but it is not enough for a politician to be a good person to change the system in which party-politics operates. This was another of Weber's insights, though he used it to attack anarchists unwilling to sully their purist principles 'responsibly', as he saw it, in order to realise their ethical goals. Anarchists who have argued that it's possible to engage in party-movement politics without compromising prefigurative principles don't follow the Weberian line that says that good outcomes can come from bad intentions and bad outcomes from good ones. Their case for anarchist participation in electoral projects is not about calculating the least-worst outcomes or piggy-backing on representative

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Finally, there are the policy commitments. The policy he defends harks back to the glory days of Clement Attlee. It turns on social justice and wealth re-distribution to benefit working people and the disadvantaged. Corbyn is a social liberal who also promises to hit the rich and the corporations through taxation, and increase spending on welfare. He talks about grotesque economic inequalities and class divisions. He's put re-nationalisation back on the political agenda. The idea of the administratively complex, large benevolent state is hardly an anarchist dream but after years of austerity budgets the programme not only looks different, but far more just than the alternative. Maybe, then, he would make a difference?

What's not to like? Let's start with the prospect of policy change. Anarchists are mistaken if they think that voting changes nothing or that institutional politics is irrelevant to disadvantaged groups. The historical anarchist rejection of parliamentarianism was about the extent of the difference participation in elite politics could make. A hundred years ago anarchist women didn't argue that the right to vote would make no impact. A lot of them criticised the campaign because they recognised that the extension of the suffrage would bring some advantages to a small strata of already privileged women. It did.

at any time. In modern electoral systems, it was simply not possible for politicians to play the decisive decision-making roles they cast for themselves. No surprise that UK policy analysts find more continuity in the business of government than politicians want to let on. Government doesn't stop for elections. Ministers always come into power inheriting policy. Weber's point was that the basic division of labour was integral to modern government. Administrators are charged with the business of government. Politicians are tasked with maintaining 'law and order' and, therefore, existing power relations. Chomsky finds something similar in his examination of post-war US foreign policy. Presidents come and go and all the while the military pursues a steady, largely consensual line. Chomksy's dissection of the alignment of liberal democracy with corporate power, the manufacturing of consent and the symbiotic relationship of capitalism and the state complicates and completes Weber's picture of parliamentary power constraint.

Individual virtue is not irrelevant in this context but it is not enough for a politician to be a good person to change the system in which party-politics operates. This was another of Weber's insights, though he used it to attack anarchists unwilling to sully their purist principles 'responsibly', as he saw it, in order to realise their ethical goals. Anarchists who have argued that it's possible to engage in party-movement politics without compromising prefigurative principles don't follow the Weberian line that says that good outcomes can come from bad intentions and bad outcomes from good ones. Their case for anarchist participation in electoral projects is not about calculating the least-worst outcomes or piggy-backing on representative politics to advance 'transitional' demands. Rather it's about exploiting new opportunities for anarchist action. Spanish party-movement activism is a model here. Electoralism might be difficult and messy, but the argument is that anarchists have held fast to anti-hierarchical, anti-elitist principles, building solidarity across a broad left and advancing socialistic reforms.
What does this suggest about anarcho-Corbynism? There's a world of difference between a party-movement initiated through grass-roots activism and a mass party that succeeds in galvanising a popular movement. Only one of these is shaped by commitments to horizontal, anarchistic organising and autonomous politics. Increasing the membership of a vertically-structured organisation undoubtedly increases the party's campaigning capacity and may also help sub-groups within the party cement their control over rivals – electoral candidates and sitting MPs in Labour's case. But this is a battle between elites for control of a party machine.

Can the election of Jeremy Corbyn combat the worst excesses of parliamentary power or stop political corruption, advance workers' power or combat every-day racism, misogyny or the rising tide of nationalism? Business as usual, albeit with an altered tax regime and a new legislative programme tailored to higher welfare spending is more likely. The Spanish experience indicates that party-movements constituted anarchistically and operating at the level of the municipality can instigate cultural shifts capable of reverberating at the centre. Where party-movements have focused on the election of illustrious leaders in the hope of realising socialist programmes the results have been far less encouraging. What can the struggle to win control of government do that extra-parliamentary action can't? Maybe it's easier to imagine the electoral win. The gains achieved through mass occupations of the squares are far less easy to track and measure. But the effort to elect the party risks exhaustion and disappointment. Anarcho-Corbynism is the only parliamentary alternative to appalling Toryism. But that's a pretty low bar.

***Ruth Kinna*** is a professor of Political Theory at Loughborough University, working in the Department of Politics, History and International Relations where she specialises in political philosophy. Since 2007 she has been the editor of the journal Anarchist Studies.

# Skills and Sabotage

## by Cristina Lina

*"Holy cats!" cried Horace, goggle-eyed to think of others carrying on the way he did. "Would they ever make trouble and stop the traffic!"*

Horace, the central character in Paul Goodman's 1977 novel The Empire City, is receiving a lecture from an older friend, Mynheer, about the possibility of a sort of 'school without walls', where children roam the streets with a teacher-shepherd to do their learning un-separated from the real, adult world. Horace's own, informal approach to education has been precisely this: to avoid school at all costs and to educate himself through what and who is available on the city streets. Mynheer's lecture continues:

*"Fundamentally our kids must learn two things: Skills and Sabotage. Let me explain. We have here a great City and a vast culture. It must be maintained as a whole; it can and must be improved piecemeal (…) At the same time it is a vast corporate organisation (…): therefore, in order to prevent being swallowed up by it or stamped by it, in order to acquire and preserve a habit of freedom, a kid must learn to circumvent it and sabotage it at any needful point as occasion arises."*

To which Horace interjects:

*"Wait up! Wait up! Ain't this a contradiction? On the one hand, you gotta love an' serve 'em; on the other hand you gotta kick 'em in the shins. Does it make sense to you?"*

And Mynheer concludes:

*"There's nothing in what you say young man. In the Empire City these*

An area that is excellent for ball games but where priority is given to the car is an example we can all imagine. Painting a set of goal posts on the wall is a relatively small act of defiance and might not constitute an enormous challenge to authority but does perhaps represent an exciting moment for those involved. They knew they were breaking a rule but they did it anyway because they felt their claim to the space was valid too. These are the moments where our actions are connected to our feelings and where we might have experienced the world coming sharply into focus. The unsanctioned goal posts do not completely reorganise a space in the interests of its child or teenage users, but they do make visible an alternative experience of that space and in turn may affect the way those involved see themselves as agents within their immediate environment. I understand these sort of moments a bit like touchstones – like memories we come back to – that remind us of how a different way of organising things might feel.

*Rope Swings* was a project I started in 2017 with Andrew Gillman that involved the installation of unsanctioned rope swings in public spaces, mostly in London. It's the way this project was confrontational at the same time as really joyful that connects it, for me, with the idea of skills and sabotage. We knew from the outset that rope swings would be a good device for disrupting the rules and conventions of public space, because rope swings are fun and you can't say they're not; however, the importance of the connection between the experience of the swings and a critical awareness of public space only became clear as we went along and saw how other people responded. You feel a bodily freedom by jumping and swinging. It's exhilarating, everything tips up, you're upside-down. Then all of a sudden, all the rules and norms and possibilities of what happens are also up in the air: you do not have permission to do this activity here, but it's happening anyway and it feels good. The rope swings made the normally intangible rules of public space felt by breaking them.

The emotional, experiential and physical connection to something,

the real, adult world. Horace's own, informal approach to education has been precisely this: to avoid school at all costs and to educate himself through what and who is available on the city streets. Mynheer's lecture continues:

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And Mynheer concludes:

*"There's nothing in what you say young man. In the Empire City these two attitudes come to the same thing: if you persist in honest service, you will soon be engaging in sabotage. Do you follow that?"*

This tension has always resonated for me. I am going to unpack this idea of skills and sabotage through examples of play in the public realm. If the public realm is largely organised according to the calculative logic of the financial market, and if play is often organised according to an emotional type of reason embedded in experience and human relationship, a conflict is likely to occur.

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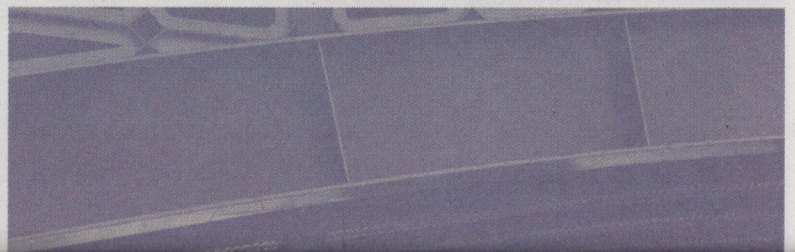
The emotional, experiential and physical connection to something, the experience of joy, opened up possibilities for criticality, for a questioning of public spaces, and the conventions, rules and controls that exist within them. People were passionate about the rope swings, they were ready to defend them and questioned why rope swings like these weren't allowed in public spaces. Like the goal posts, the rope swings do not represent a seismic change or rupture, but the shared experiences had ripple-effects beyond the actual swinging-moment.

Audre Lorde's discussion of the erotic is useful here as she offers us a language and context for thinking about the importance of an emotional type of reasoning. Lorde points out that feeling is something vital and transformative. In the experience of something deep and brilliant and strong – and such an experience is often amplified by being shared with others – we are forced to confront its absence in other areas of life and to recognise the ways in which our lives are sometimes organised to restrict these unexchangeable, uncompetitive, inefficient, passionate types of logic. Lorde writes:

*"Our erotic knowledge empowers us, becomes a lens through which we scrutinize all aspects of our existence, forcing us to evaluate those aspects honestly in terms of their relative meaning in our lives. And this is a grave responsibility, projected from within each of us, not to settle for the convenient, the shoddy, the conventionally expected." (2007:57)*

There isn't space here to discuss more examples of the games, adventures and self-set challenges of children, young people (and occasionally adults) that reorganise the environment according to their own logic, but we can all think of a bunch more. This reorganising process inevitably disrupts the conventional order of a space and this is the moment of something creative and confrontational – the moment for skills and sabotage. I think of these moments as ones where we can drive a jemmy into reality and lever it open to catch a glimpse of a world that is TEEMING



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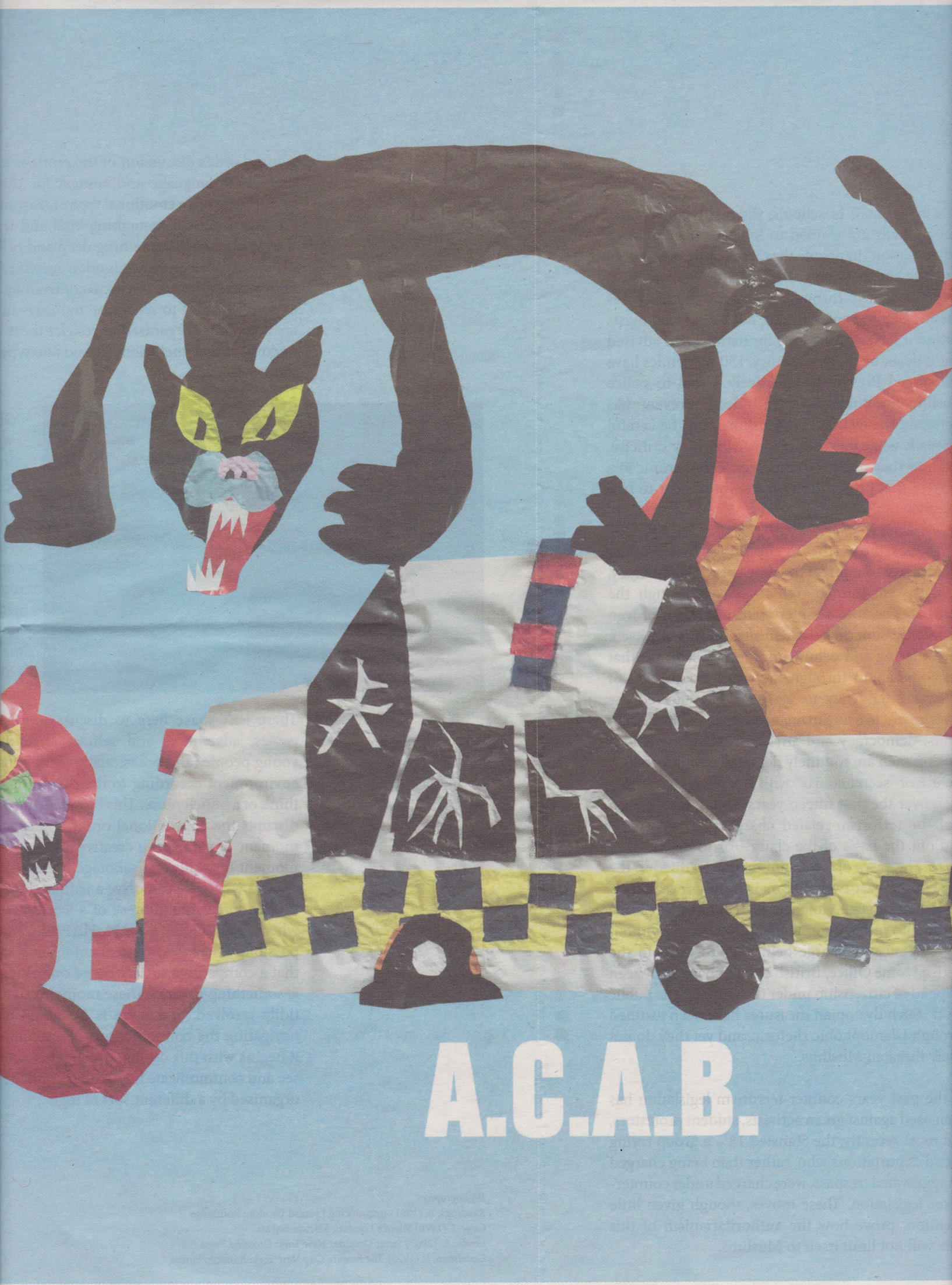
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NO PEACE

# Islamophobia is Control

## *by Suhaiymah Manzoor-Khan*

Calling Islamophobia a "phobia" erases its political function and makes it sound like a sectional issue pertinent only to Muslims; however, it is beyond time to recognise that Islamophobia is more than it sounds, and embedded more deeply than we realise. It is a central prong in the increasing authoritarianism of Western nation-states. In fact, not only is Islamophobia parallel to other elements

Islamophobia is a state-sanctioned way of governing. It is the formally-encoded understanding of Muslims as inherently criminal that informs public bodies, legislation, and policing. In Britain we have reached Orwell's dystopian vision of "thought-crime" in the workings of Islamophobia. "Terrorism" has been made the problem of Muslims. Whilst some will say it's not "all Muslims", just a small minority with a "warped" understanding of Islam, the conclusion they come to is actually the same as those who say "all Muslims are terrorists". Whether you believe it is a majority or minority of Muslims who are terrorists, both logics conclude that terrorism is a problem premised on Muslimness in the first place, and since *any* Muslim could be in the "minority", all Muslims require suspicion. Indeed, the Muslim identity itself is what is now criminal in Britain and the West more widely. Acts of violence are not in question, but the "pre-crime" space in which one can be punished for ideology, intention or behaviour that alludes to potential violence.

We have reached a stage where propensity for violence is therefore premised on how "Muslim" someone appears. Hence beards, hijabs, niqabs, and pious behaviour are deemed problematic. We've seen people thrown off planes for speaking Arabic and know that racial profiling at airports depends on assumed "Muslim" aesthetics. An identity is under suspicion. Sometimes literally: in 2010 the Home Office directly funded the installation 80 CCTV cameras in "Muslim areas" of Birmingham. But it also happens covertly. The "See It. Say It. Sorted."

This means staff in schools, the NHS, Universities and councils are trained to look out for "signs of radicalisation" in people they work with (e.g. school students and patients). The signs themselves have been concocted through a science that remains classified by the government, but the psychologists behind it have admitted its limitations and advised that it never be made statutory. 150 academics have denounced Prevent as effectively a tool to police Muslims in public spaces. Indeed, Prevent has increased the feeling that Muslims must be careful to watch what they talk about, who they criticise, and how they portray themselves. This is ironic in a country that prides itself on a commitment to free speech.

And here's the catch. All the things that Islam is made out to be a threat to – free speech, democracy, equality, and human rights – have, through the state's approach to counter-terrorism, been proven to be only superficially held dear to Britain itself. The othering and dehumanisation of Muslims that has come about through the racist assumption of an innate tendency to violence, has allowed the government to bring in measures that violate human rights, democracy and any semblance of equality. Muslim men are routinely detained without charge; the use of "secret courts" with "secret evidence" has risen over the past fifteen years, seeing men put on trial for terrorism-related charges, but unable to find out the basis of the charge, or to defend it in court. The cases of 9 Muslim men extradited to the USA in the past twelve years is deeply revealing of

Calling Islamophobia a "phobia" erases its political function and makes it sound like a sectional issue pertinent only to Muslims; however, it is beyond time to recognise that Islamophobia is more than it sounds, and embedded more deeply than we realise. It is a central prong in the increasing authoritarianism of Western nation-states. In fact, not only is Islamophobia parallel to other elements of state violence, it is connected. Islamophobia is the systematisation of the same dehumanising and colonial logics that underpin border violence, immigration control, racist incarceration and equation of Britishness with whiteness.

Whilst it is important to note that Islamophobia is the racist rhetoric of the tabloid press, the woman getting spat at in the street, and the victims of interpersonal violence outside mosques, it is also essential that we don't allow these factors to become the only focus of the spotlight. It is not accidental that sporadic, individualised violence became our central image of Islamophobia. That helps detract from examining Islamophobia's systemic and institutionalised manifestations.

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We have reached a stage where propensity for violence is therefore premised on how "Muslim" someone appears. Hence beards, hijabs, niqabs, and pious behaviour are deemed problematic. We've seen people thrown off planes for speaking Arabic and know that racial profiling at airports depends on assumed "Muslim" aesthetics. An identity is under suspicion. Sometimes literally: in 2010 the Home Office directly funded the installation 80 CCTV cameras in "Muslim areas" of Birmingham. But it also happens covertly. The "See It. Say It. Sorted." signs displayed throughout train stations and the London Underground encourage suspicion of fellow passengers; however, the tannoy specifies, "if you see something that doesn't look right, please tell a member of the British transport police" – alluding, without acknowledging, that certain bodies have already been pre-ordained as suspicious.

The Prevent Strategy is probably the most outrageous of the counter-terror policies; it does more to police Muslim behaviour and identity than anything else. It is aimed at intervening in "radicalisation" – defined in government legislation as the process that takes one to holding "extreme" or "terrorist" views. Prevent became statutory upon all public bodies in 2015.

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In the past years counter-terrorism legislation has been used against green activists, student protestors, and most recently, the Stansted 15 – a group trying to end deportations who, rather than being charged for aggravated trespass, were charged under counter-terror legislation. These moves, though given little attention, prove how the authoritarianism of this state will not limit itself to Muslims.

Islamophobia cannot be brushed aside as an individual prejudice, or sectional concern – it is state-sanctioned violence against Muslims, and the justification for the dismantling of human rights and democracy.

Some may feel it is sensationalist for me to refer to the present times as genocidal. But I believe that the present times are the continuation of the past few hundred years. For as long as nation-states order our humanity and world, genocide will be inherent. It is happening globally, currently, but the potential for it in the West again is ever increasing. Nation-states will always forcibly include and exclude people. Muslims are given the impossible choice of integrate or be punished – the possibility of integration stolen from us by Britain being increasingly defined by whiteness. Government reports imply that ethnic minorities must "learn" British Values, whilst presumably white Brits are born with them innate in their melanin. I bring this up to remind us that a population that is forcibly excluded and yet present, is a population at threat. It is a population that is weaponised against itself and becomes a justification for state violence.

None of us can turn a blind eye to Islamophobia. It is the most concrete evidence of state violence in the UK and the most pernicious threat to people's freedom and right to security. The British state is growing in authoritarianism, its power to unmake citizens and expel racialised bodies. It is creating a surveillance apparatus that is society

## Twenty Point Manifesto for Women Living in Genocidal Times

by Suhaiymah Manzoor-Khan

***1.*** Ask which women just came to your mind.

***2.*** Ask which women did not just come to your mind.

***3.*** Look in the mirror.
Know you are not all of us.
Know you are one of us.
Know the genocidal times began long before you, though.

***4.*** Know you are not your body – but your body is yours
so kiss the mirror sometimes even if it is cracked – especially if it is cracked.

Do not wait to become a fashionable trend
it is faster just to love yourself.

***5.*** Do not believe the exhibitions.
100 years for who?
Some women stood on the round darker bellies of others just to get a taste of the pie.
Know there were feminists before their feminism.

Know there was history before Europe
"progress" before "progressive values" were coerced onto the world.
There were working mothers before there was applause.
There were fields and bending knees and factory night-shifts and silence.

For the history of the world is not a history of Great Men
or nation-states
or civilisations
or wars
it is a history of women.

***6.*** Do not want "equality" with men whose power comes from their subjection of others.
Wish for more than being the other side of the joke.

For more than putting someone else into the capitalist punchline.
For more than making cracks about small hands and orange skin.
If it takes emasculation to bring down the ones in power,
then we concede that being less man, is being more humiliated and being more woman, is being the joke.

***7.*** The master's tools will never destroy the master's house, after all.
Women CEOs don't mean much for the women working for them in low-wage, precarious, life-threatening conditions.

***8.*** Do not go alone.

***9.*** Do not go alone.

***10.*** There is always space for everyone.
There is no reason we must queue for freedom
some women perpetually at the back.
It is all or nothing
so stand in a row, instead, hold hands.

***11.*** You do not have to climb over me to climb upwards.
Hold hands with the women you don't know
not just the ones you respect

***14.*** Liberation is not a door that opens from the inside.
Do not wait.
Do not ask permission,
dress up pretty, blink your eyes and say "please let us in",
instead kick it down.

***15.*** Realise liberation is not a door at all
not something you walk through and enter
but something that's in you:
your sharp tongue, big heart, and weeping eyes.

***16.*** Liberation did not come from the ballot box.
Liberation will not come from the government.
Know the state will placate you as it dehumanises you.
Know "women's rights" only count if they see you first as "woman".

There are women who will never be "woman".
They are sitting in refugee camps, in detention centres and under rubble.

They will tell you these women were victims to their own societies.
Had they only made it to the West they would have been free, like you.
Had you only invaded their countries to save them they would have been free, like you.

Know you are not free.

Know this is only progress the way wrapping a rope around your own neck
is getting closer death.

***17.*** Know that genitals aren't necessary to bring us together.
The revolution doesn't need to be pink.
The reclamation doesn't need to be naked.
What makes us women is not our bodies but the violence we are subjected to.
What makes us oppressed is not that we are the same, but that we are in pain.

***18.*** Do not be afraid of the questioning.
Just because it feels bad doesn't mean it is.
Wonder if your comfort is more important than her freedom.

***19.*** Do not point over the ocean to say it is worse in America.
We are killing the darker ones here, too
we just let them die under suspicious circumstances in custody
rather than outright assassinate them on the street.

We are separating the babies from their families here, too
we just hide it better and point the camera elsewhere.

We are killing civilians overseas here, too
we just sell the bombs for others to do the dropping.

We are barricading the border here, too.
We are surveiling the Muslims here, too.
We are murdering the marginalised here, too.
We are groping the women,
excluding, dehumanising and destroying.

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None of us can turn a blind eye to Islamophobia. It is the most concrete evidence of state violence in the UK and the most pernicious threat to people's freedom and right to security. The British state is growing in authoritarianism, its power to unmake citizens and expel racialised bodies. It is creating a surveillance apparatus that is society itself, policing the thoughts of the Suspicious Others next door.

Question the counter-terrorism project. Britain cannot purport to dislike violence when it is socioeconomically, politically and historically, endemically violent. What the British state dislikes is not violence itself, but taking responsibility for its own.

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not just the ones you respect
not just the ones you don't avert your eyes from
not just the ones you get
You do not have to climb over me to climb upwards.

***12.*** Do not let yourself be reduced
they will try to split you.
Look for more than representation,
call for reparation.

***13.*** Ask the questions that scare you.
Ask whether the liberals are really different from the fascists.
The liberals will surveil the Muslims
the fascists will remove us.
But what's the difference when both techniques dehumanise and destroy?
The liberals will say they stand for freedom of speech
whilst restricting what Muslims can talk about
the fascists will cut our tongues out instead.
But what's the difference when we're silenced?

What's the difference when it still means a drone dropped on your home?
What's the difference when you're in Guntanamo Bay?
What's the difference when it still means your body is suspect?
What's the difference when we're dead?

Had you only invaded their countries to save them they would have been free, like you.

Know you are not free.

Know this is only progress the way wrapping a rope around your own neck
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We are surveiling the Muslims here, too.
We are murdering the marginalised here, too.
We are groping the women,
excluding, dehumanising and destroying.

***20.*** Fight.
Love uncompromisingly.
Hone your weapon - your voice, your hands.
Go forward and grasp.

But do not go alone.

You won't make it alone.

We won't make it.

Come together – you too.
It won't be easy
– but we were trained for that.

We are women, after all

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***Suhaiymah Manzoor-Khan*** is a writer, spoken-word poet, speaker, and educator invested in unlearning the modalities of knowledge she has internalised, disrupting power relations, and interrogating narratives around race/ism, gender(ed oppression), Islamophobia, state violence, knowledge production and (de)coloniality.

@thebrownhijabi

# Every Little Sucks

*by Adam Barr*

Supermarket work – shelf stacking, working the tills, troubleshooting the self-service checkouts, smiling glassily as a red-faced man screams that there isn't the right type of parsley – is much maligned in the consciousness of the British public. Along with flipping burgers at McDonald's and working in a call centre, shelf stacking in a Tesco's ranks as one of the top boogeymen deployed by lazy teachers to scare kids into doing well in their GCSEs. In some ways, such a status is well deserved. Supermarket work is boring and difficult. Pay is below any semblance of a living wage and contracts are rarely full-time, leaving workers either looking for a second job or relying on overtime to be able to pay rent. On top of this, a sense of hopelessness pervades supermarket workplaces.

I came to supermarket work the way most people do: I needed the money. The cash I had received from student loans and bursaries had nearly run out and with the contract on my flat running till near the end of August I was in dire need of a way to live. Not having the time to apply for anything better, I ended up getting a position as a sales assistant in the fruit and veg department of a fairly large branch of Sainsbury's in an affluent suburban area of North London. Whatever hopes I had for the new job were dashed pretty quickly. My manager put on a good show for my orientation but quickly revealed himself avoiding any kind of antagonistic or member led actions. I did make a half-hearted attempt to join, more out of a sense of duty than for any other reason, but as my shift patterns rarely coincided with the union rep's, this proved impossible. The Great Place to Work group in the store was even worse, filled with lackeys sucking up to the store manager and old hands wedded to the company and its success. Of course topics such as pay were off the table, already dealt with higher up the chain of command. Instead we had the opportunity to suggest ways to work more efficiently, or debate what charity customers should be directed to donate to in the next quarter. Ultimately I lacked the knowledge and confidence to go about the process of organising in the store, and without the backing of a worker led union I didn't get anywhere in my time at Sainsbury's beyond small scale latent resistances.

I've written previously about workers' acts of resistance that occur all the time in the workplace: stretching a fifteen minute break to thirty minutes, expropriating stock, supplies and equipment for personal use or manipulating workplace technologies to make their jobs easier. I think these actions are important and are often overlooked in analyses of work. But individualised actions like these can only go so far in changing the balance of power in a workplace. For that, I'd argue, acts of expropriation, sabotage and shirking should be generalised and take place in coordination with more overt struggles over traditional issues of pay, contracts and conditions.

The challenge facing workers in the retail sector is to break the hold of the scab unions and management, create a mass of organised militants capable of fighting the bosses for which they work. This is a significant hurdle in a sector that has historically seen little militant action. Just because struggle has been lacking in the retail sector doesn't mean it has to be that way in the future. However monolithic opportunities to be exploited, more tensions to push on.

Organising in retail feels like a hopeless task. It's easy to forget that the retail sector is structured to create hopeless conditions amongst its workers. It's also easy to forget that when workers organise collectively to enforce a set of demands they can win. We can look to recent examples in sectors with similarly terrible conditions, such as hospitality, for steps forward. October's fast food shut down of Uber Eats coincided with strikes in McDonald's, Weatherspoons and TGI Friday showed the power that even the most precarious workers can bring to bear. Organisers paid attention to specific features of their workplaces, whether that was an app or a pub or a franchise, to build pressure. More importantly, what the McStrike, #spoonsstrike and couriers unrest has proven is the possibility of victory in seemingly hopeless sectors. Spoon's today, Tesco's tomorrow.

## IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE LIKE THIS

*– four tips for organising in your supermarket:*

**1.** Join a union. Some are better than others and some should be avoided like the plague. Some good ones to have a look at are the IWW, IWGB and UVW. Give up on changing anything through corporate structures like Partnersvoice or Great Place to Work.

**2.** Get trained! The IWW runs regular workplace organiser training in different parts of the country. Have a look at their website and see when the next one is happening. If you can't make it to a training then you can still do a bit of research before you take action. There are people who have been organising in their workplaces for years and know what generally works. Remember, you can learn just as much from failure as you can from a victory.

**3.** Talk to your workmates. Be careful about it, the last thing you want to do is say the wrong thing to a management wannabe and get grassed up. Try and

flipping burgers at McDonald's and working in a call centre, shelf stacking in a Tesco's ranks as one of the top boogeymen deployed by lazy teachers to scare kids into doing well in their GCSEs. In some ways, such a status is well deserved. Supermarket work is boring and difficult. Pay is below any semblance of a living wage and contracts are rarely full-time, leaving workers either looking for a second job or relying on overtime to be able to pay rent. On top of this, a sense of hopelessness pervades supermarket workplaces.

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My options to change anything while I was at work were pretty bleak. The officially recognised union was USDAW, a 'partnership union' so-called for making partnership agreements with the bosses and

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The challenge facing workers in the retail sector is to break the hold of the scab unions and management, create a mass of organised militants capable of fighting the bosses for which they work. This is a significant hurdle in a sector that has historically seen little militant action. Just because struggle has been lacking in the retail sector doesn't mean it has to be that way in the future. However monolithic the retail sector appears, there are some factors that swing in the favour of potential union activists. Managers of individual stores face pressure from higher up the corporate ladder, scrutinised for store profitability and growth. Framed right, a campaign directed at store management could pose a threat to their career and be a valuable point of leverage. Additionally, tight profit margins in the retail sector leave businesses exposed to social extensions of workplace struggle such as consumer boycotts or mass expropriation. These kinds of solidarity actions rely on some kind of popular support for workers in a local area, so wouldn't be appropriate everywhere, but could be incredibly effective in the right circumstances. These are just two examples of potential pressure points. A proper assessment of how retail work is structured is certain to reveal more

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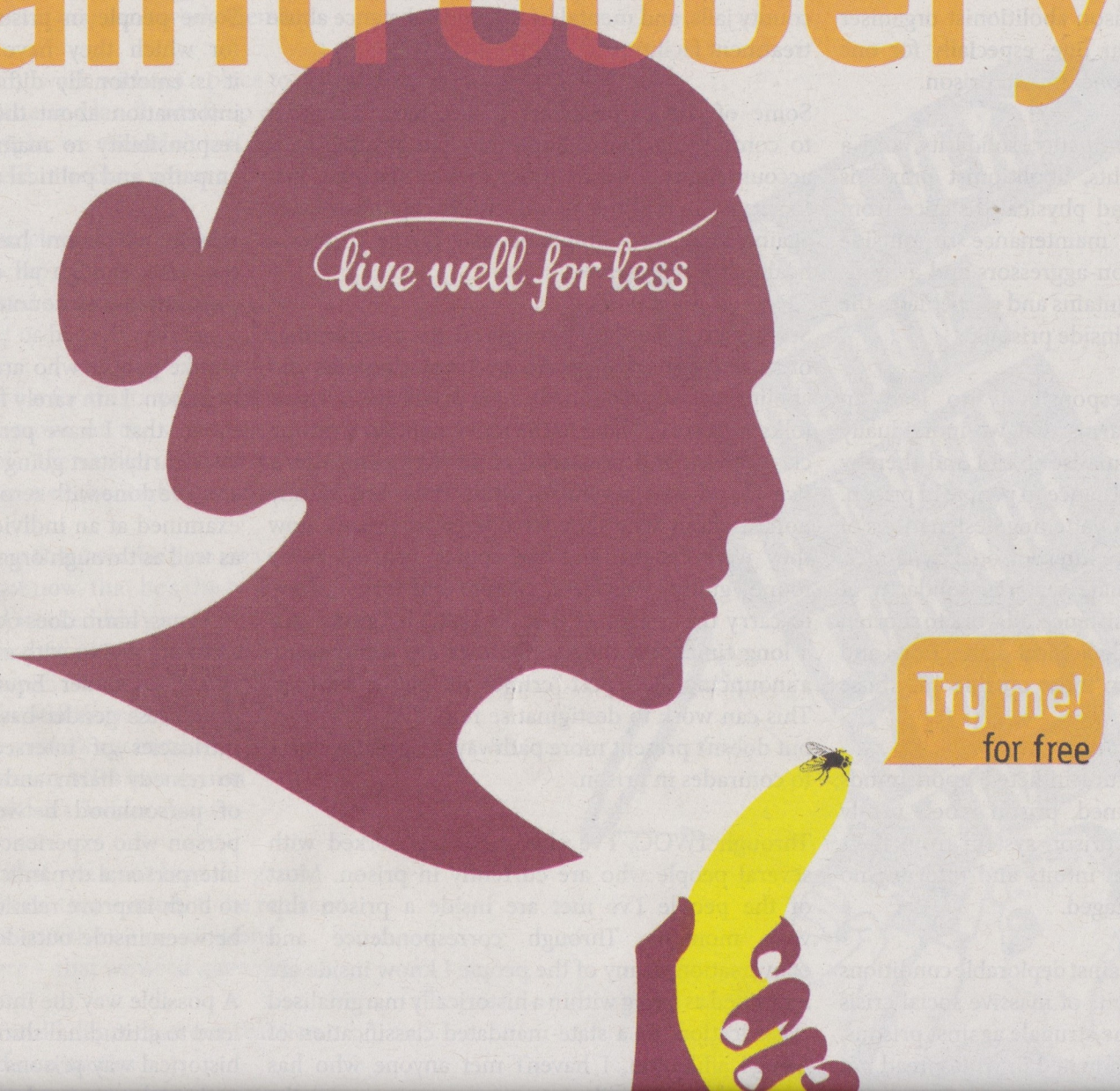
**3.** Talk to your workmates. Be careful about it, the last thing you want to do is say the wrong thing to a management wannabe and get grassed up. Try and meet up with your fellow workers outside of the workplace, as it's often easier to get people to talk about their grievances when they know there's not going to be the possibility of a manager listening in. Ask open questions and listen. Tailor your responses to what you hear.

**4.** Show solidarity to other struggles. Building working class power doesn't just involve showing solidarity within workplaces, but also between workplaces and industries. Keep an ear out for campaigns happening in other workplaces and show solidarity with them. This could be as simple as promoting pickets, actions and fundraising appeals. If actions are happening near you, go and support in person. Make connections and keep up communication after struggles end. You never know when a campaign might be needed, and all those connections will mean you'll start ahead of where you were before.

# Saintrobbery's



***Adam Barr*** is a militant worker. He currently shops at Tesco and hasn't entered Sainsbury's since 2016.

# Turning Inside Out

*by Ash Silang*

The position of a prison abolitionist organiser can seem a peculiar one, especially for one outside, who has never done time in prison.

While often rooted in empathy, solidarity, and a struggle for human rights, abolitionist praxis is limited by ideological and physical distance from people in prison. The maintenance of outside organiser identities as non-aggressors and as non-perpetrators of harm maintains and perpetuates the distance from comrades inside prisons.

Abolitionists have a responsibility to lead an attitudinal shift about harms that we individually cause, in order to destigmatise harm and thereby shorten our ideological distance to people in prison. Destigmatising harm and flattening designations of guilt, confronting negative interpersonal dynamics, and engaging in immediate material solidarity at prison sites and sites of resistance, all work to shorten – and eventually end – ideological distinctions and physical distance between those outside and those in prison.

Through terror and torture inflicted upon minds and bodies of the confined, prison rebels firmly root dissent against the prison system from their full-body experience that intuits and informs: no human being should be caged.

The working class fight against deplorable conditions has resulted in many fronts of massive social crisis often intersecting with the struggle against prisons. These struggles have culminated in widespread but

county jails, and mental health and substance abuse treatment facilities.

Some of the ex-prisoners I met have admitted to committing harm. Some have to grapple with accountability towards those they've harmed, just to survive in the "free world" under capitalism once again, while also simultaneously trying to locate healing for themselves.

Several ex-prisoners, through all the complexities of their internal processes, are revolutionaries and abolitionists on the outside. I am privileged to know folks who are devoted to the movement for working class power, and possessed of an exemplary drive. I've found that several of these folks are bluntly honest about why they have been in prison, how they were caught, and the courts' process to be found "guilty." Prisoners, current and former, have to carry the weight of this designation "guilty" for a long time, and they sometimes are transparent, announcing their past "crimes" in public settings. This can work to destigmatise remedies of "crime" but doesn't present more pathways to getting closer to comrades in prison.

Through IWOC, I've also met and worked with several people who are currently in prison. Most of the people I've met are inside a prison this very moment. Through correspondence and conversation, many of the people I know inside are identified as being within a historically marginalised classification, or a state-mandated classification of "gang" affiliation. I haven't met anyone who has

Some people in prison have told me the crimes for which they have been convicted. At times, it is emotionally difficult for me to process this information about the harm caused. Yet I feel a responsibility to maintain connection, as human empathy and political solidarity dictates.

People in prison have been found "guilty" by the state, though all carry guilt because all have committed unaccounted harm.

Unlike people who are inside and who have been in prison, I am rarely forced to announce the worst things that I have personally done. While I won't necessarily start going around announcing heinous shit I've done with zero context, this tension must be examined at an individual and interpersonal level, as well as through organisations of abolitionists.

At times, harm does occur within our organisation, often occurring with a gendered dynamic. Through IWOC's Gender Equity Committee, we attempt to address gender-based oppression and examine intricacies of intersectional dynamics in order to remedy harm and restore mutual recognition of personhood between the aggressor and the person who experienced harm. We seek to extend interpersonal dynamic analysis to comrades inside, to both improve relations and shorten the distance between inside-outside comradeships.

A possible way the internal dynamic analysis could lend to attitudinal shifts is in an examination of the historical way prisons have been used to subjugate

distance from comrades inside prisons.

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The working class fight against deplorable conditions has resulted in many fronts of massive social crisis often intersecting with the struggle against prisons. These struggles have culminated in widespread but oft-suppressed prison strikes, uprisings, rebellions, and riots over the past several years, most recently August 21 – September 9, 2018.

I am writing as someone who supports and participates in collective organising in prisoner-led initiatives through the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC). We study the prison and abolition movements and engage in critical struggle towards abolition. I have never done time myself, but I have experienced the hardship and insecurity of having immediate family members inside. Like most of the people I've personally met on the outside who have been incarcerated, they did something drug-related and served time ranging from a few months to a few years, in state prisons

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Through IWOC, I've also met and worked with several people who are currently in prison. Most of the people I've met are inside a prison this very moment. Through correspondence and conversation, many of the people I know inside are identified as being within a historically marginalised classification, or a state-mandated classification of "gang" affiliation. I haven't met anyone who has been granted privilege, economic access, or the social standing seemingly necessary to avoid being caged.

Personally, I have not asked many folks about their charges, convictions, and what guilt they might carry. "Crime" seems to be an artificial and arbitrary classification, and the designation is more often based on skin colour, the system of racism, family relations, neighbourhood, lack of economic access, and level of educational access afforded to each individual. Despite my position that "crime" is a state maintained social construct and not necessarily an actual indicator of harm, many prisoners I know have committed very harmful acts and have been convicted of "crimes" based on the

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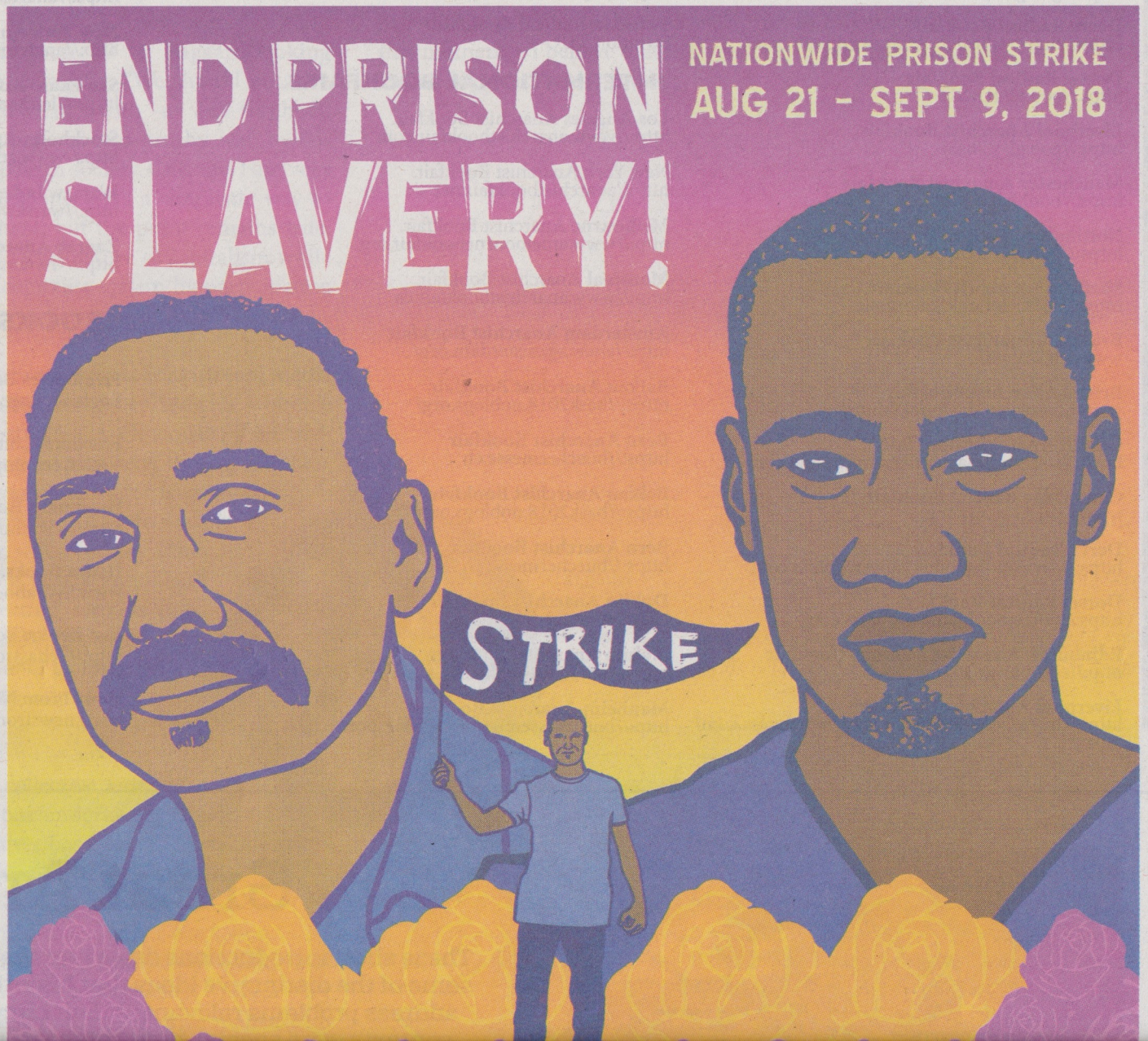
A possible way the internal dynamic analysis could lend to attitudinal shifts is in an examination of the historical way prisons have been used to subjugate and strip personhood. The state mechanises social control by reducing a person to a citizen, systematically disenfranchising by removing one's ability to survive under capitalism, then removing that citizenship through intervention of the prison state.

How do inherent biases and privileges among us as outside organisers also work to reduce personhood of those inside, and how do we challenge that? What is the chance that people outside can truly identify with people inside prison, when so many intersecting privileges and oppressive dynamics exist within the inside-outside comradeship? While we collectively struggle, we must confront underlying negative tendencies that cause harm, to create a foundation on which to ingrain our own

Currently, much of the collective struggle is delayed by snail mail. There are numerous barriers between my pen and the piece of paper in the recipient's hand. When I write to people in prison, I imagine my eyes attached to an invisible balloon. This balloon floats above my head to all the things I surround myself with, to all the places I can go, with varied textures and sounds and stimuli. The balloon travels some distance, over increasingly harsh, then barren, then toxic landscapes, then towards the grey, angular prison, over gates, through concrete barriers, over a cell, into it. Floating over a human in a box. A place where identity is stripped from one's exterior form. Where all the richness and textures and variations must exist solely in the imaginations of the people there, only to be expressed in forms the state deems acceptable and allowed.




One way we combat the mutual alienation of distance is by travelling to these sites of terror and torture. At the local jail, IWOC does as much immediate material support as we can. We share immediate comforts of hot food (usually pizza) and cigarettes with folks who have just been released, and give rides to the nearest train station.

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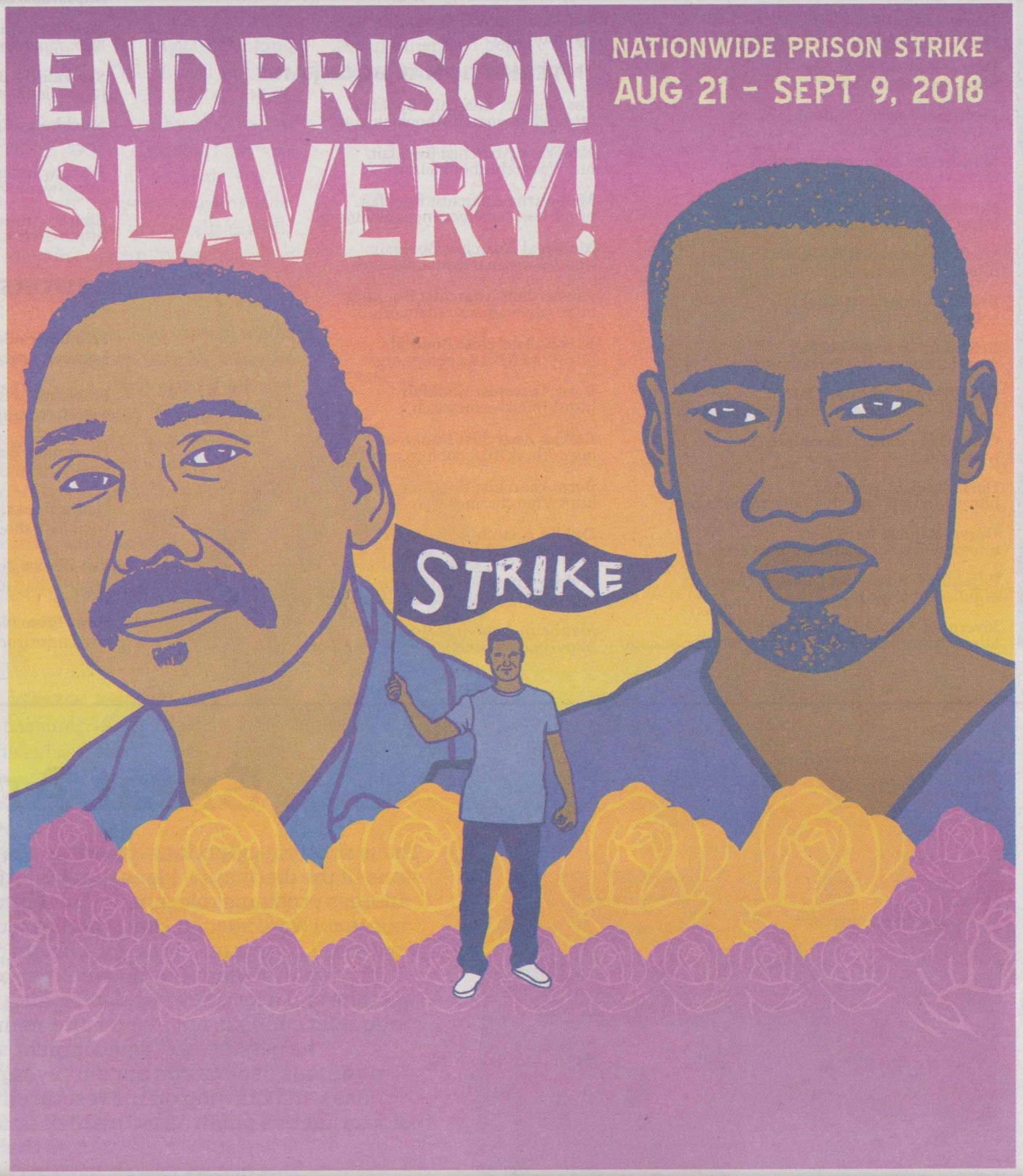

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Efforts towards emancipation aren't reducible to just getting out from behind bars, wire, fence, and concrete. We must shorten the distance between inside-outside engagement to mutually elevate the capacities of organisers inside and out, to continue, hand in hand, for a world without prisons.

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***Ash Silang*** is an organiser with IWOC Oakland.
*incarceratedworkers.org*

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# Great Anarchists

These short introductions delve into the anarchist canon to recover some of the distinctive ideas that historical anarchists advanced to address problems relevant to their circumstances. Although these

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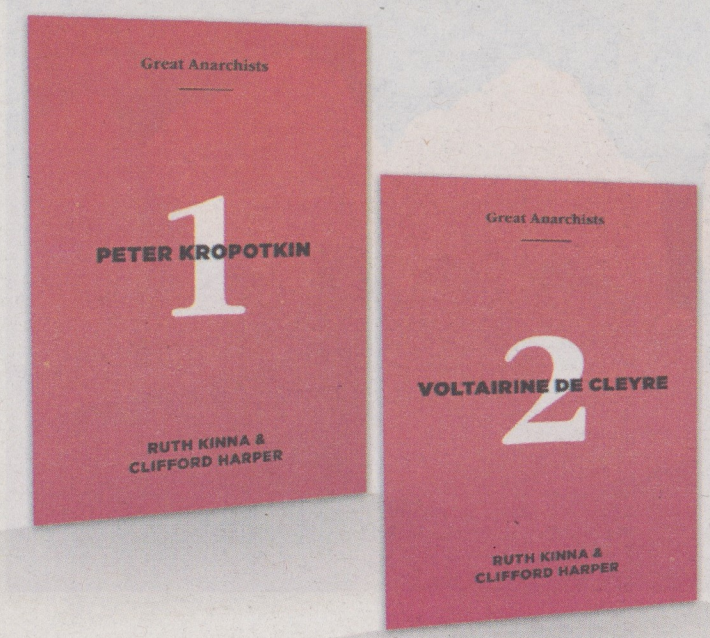


# Great Anarchists

These short introductions delve into the anarchist canon to recover some of the distinctive ideas that historical anarchists advanced to address problems relevant to their circumstances. Although these contexts were special, many of the issues the anarchists wrestled with still plague our lives. Anarchists developed a body of writing about power, domination, injustice and exploitation, education, prisons and a lot more besides. Honing in on different facets of the anarchist canon is not just an interesting archaeological exercise. The persistence, development and adaptation of anarchist traditions depends on our surveying the historical landscape of ideas and drawing on the resources it contains. The theoretical toolbox that this small assortment of anarchists helped to construct is there to use, amend and adapt.

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www.1in12.com

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www.autonomous.org.uk

**Black Cat Cafe**, Hackney, London,
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www.blackcatcafe.co.uk

**Blackcurrent Centre**, London,
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www.blackcurrentcentre.org.uk/

**Cowley Club**, Brighton, London,
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www.cowleyclub.org.uk/

**Glasgow Autonomous Space**,
http://glasgowautonomous.weebly.com

**Kebele Social Centre**, Easton, Bristol,
B55 6JY, UK.
www.kebelecoop.org/

**London Action Resource Centre**, London,
E11ES, UK.
www.londonarc.org

**SUMAC Centre**, Nottingham, London,
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www.veggies.org.uk/sumac/index.php

**Warzone**, County Antrim, BT2 7JHN, Ireland.
www.warzonecollective.com/

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**Mustan Kanin Kolo**
https://mustankaninkolo.info/

**Aftonomi Infoshop**
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www.tolpuddlemartyrs.org.uk/

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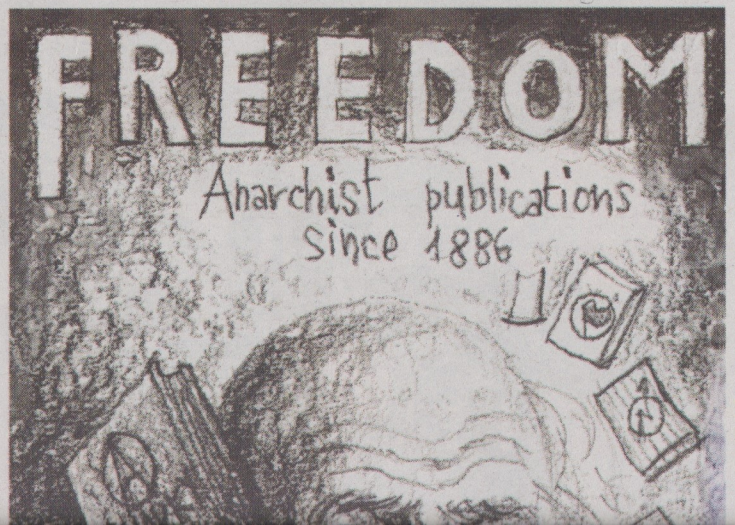


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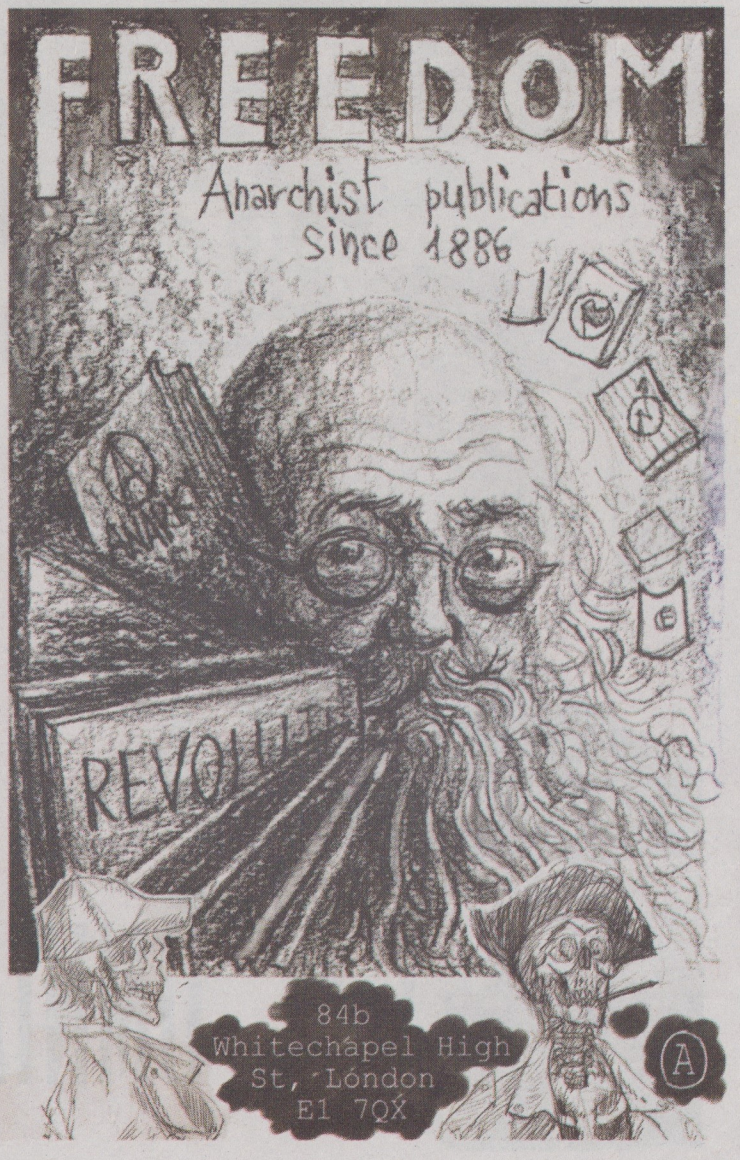

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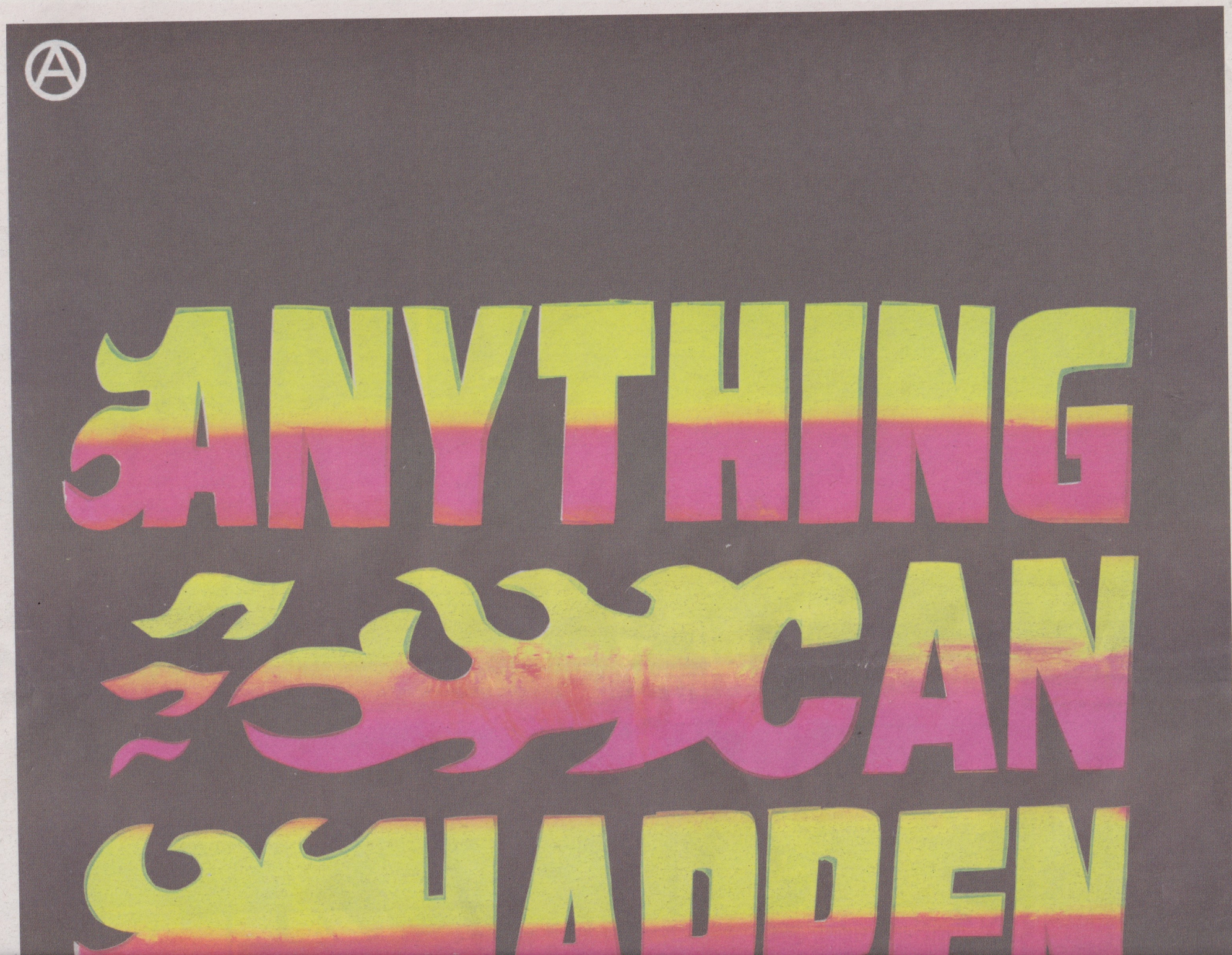
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